ACCOUNT OF SIBERIAN PRISON CAMP REVOLT
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THE MILITANT

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Their Real Target

Arab Masses Rally to Aid Egypt -- Imperialists Hesitate on Suez War

Why All Workers Should Demand 'Hands off Egypt'

An Editorial

Have the U.S., British and French imperialists precipitated "the gravest international crisis since the Berlin blockade and the Korean war" merely because Egypt nationalized the company which operated the Suez Canal? No. Far more is behind it. Imperialism aims to prevent the colonial revolution, which has swept over Asia and Africa with such elemental force, from rising in the Middle East.

Suez raises the specter of colonial revolution in all the oil-rich Arab countries. The imperialists fear the breakaway of their hitherto pliant puppets, through whom they have so long ruled these countries, or — far worse yet — their replacement by representatives of the poverty-stricken Arab masses. **They fear nationalizations of the world's richest oil fields for the benefit of the undernourished, disease-ridden people of these countries and the consequent loss of super-profits to the imperialist oil corporations.**

To nip this in the bud — at Suez — they are preparing to shoot and bomb and kill.

Since the imperialists have large populations in their home countries who do the work and also send their sons to fight imperialist wars, the reasons given publicly for the war threats are not the real ones of oil and profits. The official reasons are "morality" and "international control of a vital waterway."

Imperialist "morality" means that it is "moral" for Britain to control and profit from the Suez Canal. But the same is "immoral" for Egypt — within whose territory the 100 mile long canal completely lies.

Secretary of State Dulles piously declares on television that "it is inadmissible" that the Suez Canal "should be exploited by one country for purely selfish purposes." He was not referring to the long years of Britain's control and exploitation of it but to Egypt's "selfish" desire to own what's in its territory.

Nor does the imperialist propaganda about the necessity of international control apply to the Panama Canal (controlled by the U.S.) the Strait of Gibraltar (controlled by Britain) or the Dardanelles (controlled by Turkey, a stooge of U.S. and Britain). Internationalization is to apply only to a waterway in the territory of a nation rising in anti-imperialist struggle. The fact is that all internationalizing schemes are a hoax as long as imperialism exists.

It is the duty of all socialists to oppose any interference whatsoever with Egypt's sovereign right to Suez. That is true whether the internationalizing scheme is cooked up by the Western Big Three or by a coexistence team of the Big Three plus the Kremlin.

Egypt and the Arab people have the right to determine their own fate. They have been denied that right for over a century by the imperialists who invaded their lands, robbed them, Jim-Crowed them, and are now trying to keep them poverty-stricken, ignorant and powerless.

But the Arab people will no longer submit. That is what is behind the Suez crisis.

All Asia Denounces Preparations to Make Egypt Another Korea

By George Lavan

The tremendous rallying throughout the Arab world and Asia in defense of Egypt's right to nationalize the Suez Canal Company is causing U.S., British and French imperialism to have second thoughts about invasion of Egypt and seizure of the canal.

Whether these second thoughts will restrain the imperialists from naked military aggression against Egypt that could convert the whole Middle East into a second Korean holocaust cannot yet be said. Military preparations by Great Britain and France — mobilization of reserves, hasty dispatch of paratroopers, aircraft carriers and battleships to the Mediterranean, continue. The U.S. Navy's atom-equipped Sixth Fleet has been sent steaming to within striking distance of Egypt. High-placed officials — from members of Parliament in Britain and the government in France to Senator McCarthy in this country are calling for the sending of battleships into to the canal to provoke the Egyptians into firing the first shot and thus become the "aggressor."

Instead of being intimidated by the threats of war from the Big Three Western powers, the people of Egypt have rallied unanimously behind the Nasser regime's declaration that it will fight if invaded. Though the Egyptian army is small, it is apparent from the springing up of volunteer training companies that the imperialists would have to fight not only the Egyptian army but virtually the whole population organized as guerrilla fighters.

DULLES' SCHEME

This reaction inside Egypt has upset the calculations of the imperialists and particularly the U.S. State Department which masterminded and opened the campaign against the Nasser regime with Dulles' repudiation of the promised help in building the Aswan Dam. This was economic punishment for Egypt's refusal to follow the U.S. laid-down diplomatic line. It came on the heels of Egypt's diplomatic recognition of China. Great Britain and the World Bank (controlled by U.S. and British imperialism) also reneged on the promised loan for the Aswan Dam. It was thought in the Big Three chancelleries that this blow to Egypt would so weaken the Nasser regime that it could be toppled.

Instead, Nasser's nationalization of the company that held the concession from Egypt to operate the Suez canal, handle the tolls and keep the profits, has united behind him all Egyptians who want to reclaim everything the imperialists extorted from them, in the past.

In addition to the mass upsurge of anti-imperialism in Egypt the whole surrounding Arab world has rallied to Egypt's defense. Great demonstrations in the various countries of the Middle East show how Egypt's fight is considered the cause of all the oppressed Arab people. This great mass solidarity is reflected in the stands taken by all the Arab nations against the imperialist threat to attack Egypt.

WILL CUT OIL OFF

In Syria workers have declared that if Egypt is attacked they will cut the Western-owned oil pipe lines that cross their country. The Syrian Defense Minister has announced that Syria was in a state of "general mobilization" because "the battle of the Suez Canal is the battle of every Arab." In Washington the Syrian ambassador warned that Dulles' policy was leading "headlong to war" and that if Egypt was invaded the Arab countries would "fight to the end" by guerrilla means.

In Lebanon the President backed the nationalization of the Suez Canal and warned that an attack on Egypt would lead the Arab nations to cut off relations with the Western imperialist nations and "break all concessions and agreements." Since the poverty-stricken Arab nations are treasure houses of oil — all owned by the imperialists — the threat means the imperialists would not only have to occupy Egypt but the other Middle East countries as well.

Even the government of Iraq, notoriously a paid stooge of U.S. and British imperialism, has had to bow to the feeling of its people and come out in formal support of Egypt.

The solidifying of the Arab world in defense of Egypt not only poses a formidable diplo-

(Continued on page 3)

Stalinist and Trotskyist Debate on Radio in S. F.

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 5 — **Speakers representing the viewpoints of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist party debated the topic of "The Downgrading of Stalin" over Radio Station KPFA here today. The speakers were Frank Barbaria, SWP Candidate for Mayor last year, and Adam Lapin, Associate Editor of the People's World (West Coast Stalinist weekly). Participating with them in the panel discussion was Sidney Roger, well-known liberal and radio news-caster.**

Agreement among the three panelists was limited to their common belief that the nationalized property forms in the Soviet Union are progressive. But they diverged widely over why Stalin had been dethroned and what the consequences would be.

Barbaria stated that Khrushchev was forced into denouncing Stalin and revealing part of his crimes because of tremendous mass pressures developing in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev and Co. are granting concessions, said Barbaria, because they "hope by this method to hold on to their bureaucratic privileges and the higher standard of living they enjoy at the expense of the Soviet Workers and peasants."

"We don't get very much news out of the Soviet Union on this point," he said. "But we can gauge the pressure of the masses by three examples from recent history: (1) The East German general strike in June 1953, in which the workers expressed support for the nationalized property but wanted a voice in running the factories. (2) The Vorkuta strike in the prison camps of Siberia in which the prisoners demanded better food and more lenient working conditions. **(3) The recent general strike in Poznan, in which, again, workers demanded better working conditions and some voice in running the plants. In none of these struggles was the demand raised for a return to capitalism."**

Lapin blamed what he called Stalin's "excesses" and "bad means" on holdovers from Czarism. Since there had never been any democracy in Russia it was easy for the Soviet regime to use terrorist methods to push through its program of nationalization and planning, was his argument. He promised that the Khrushchev regime would be more democratic citing Khrushchev's 20th Congress speech as marking a turn toward democracy. He urged radical workers to forget the Stalinist past and turn their attention to the better prospects he predicted for the future.

Roger thought that Khrushchev had been forced into his revelations by what he called the highly educated scientific strata, whose very training teaches them constantly to ask questions. When a large body of educated people are taught to ask questions in their field of study, he said, they have a tendency to wonder why they cannot ask political questions as well. He thought that the change in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death was for the better and that democracy would expand.

MALIGNS BARBARIA

In the course of the panel discussion, Lapin alleged that by attacking the Khrushchev regime, Barbaria was attacking the Soviet Union itself. Barbaria replied that he had always defended the Soviet Union but had never condoned the rule of the bureaucratic caste in the USSR because of the enormous privileges it accrued to itself at the expense of workers. **This bureaucracy, Barbaria charged, has acted as a brake on the development of socialist potentials lodged in the nationalized property forms of the Soviet Union. For that reason, too, he had opposed Stalin's rule in the past and the rule of Khrushchev today.**

A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.

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Liberals and Dixiecrats Rally Behind Stevenson

By John Thayer

AUG. 6 — Senator Estes Kefauver's withdrawal from the race for the presidential nominations and his simultaneous endorsement of Adlai Stevenson has made the latter's nomination on the first or second ballot at the Democratic convention a strong possibility.

At the same time the air is thick with rumors that part of the deal was the promise of the vice-presidential nomination to Kefauver. That some sort of deal was made is indisputable for Kefauver had pitched his campaign on a liberal line as opposed to Stevenson's "moderation." He had bitterly assailed Stevenson for hedging on civil rights, labor and social issues.

Had his liberal "principles" been more than vote catchers, Kefauver would have stayed in the race till the end or would more logically have thrown his support to Gov. Averill Harriman of New York, who in his bid for the nomination is using a liberal pitch almost identical with Kefauver's.

Ignoring Harriman, the Tennessee senator urged his followers to vote instead for the man, who in the Florida primary, had conveniently "failed to hear" a racist attack made in his presence on Kefauver for courting the Negro vote.

Stevenson's backing is now quite formidable and variegated. All the disparate elements which make up the Democratic Party are well represented in it. First and foremost come the leaders of the Southern wing of the party. **Included are such notorious white-supremacists as Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Governor Coleman of bloody Mississippi and assorted Dixiecrats. Next come the majority of the corrupt big-city and state Democratic machines. Finally the overwhelming bulk of the labor bureaucrats and the liberals of Americans for Democratic Action are on the Stevenson bandwagon.**

The only solid single opposition to Stevenson at the present moment is the Tammany machine of New York which is the core of Harriman's support. While a number of delegations are pledged to "favorite sons" (local politicians who have no serious chance of winning the nomination) this is not real opposition. The "favorite son" device is a traditional bargaining gambit by which delegations hold off committing themselves until they can drive the best bargain for their votes.

Once the nomination of any one candidate appears imminent the "favorite son" delegations hasten to offer their votes — at a high price — as the needed margin of victory. When negotiations for the needed margin are in the process the others make whatever deals they can lest they be left high and dry with their commodity and no buyer.

While Harriman is frantically trying to persuade the "favorite son" delegations to stay off the Stevenson bandwagon for the first few ballots, the larger Stevenson forces are making big offers and trying to start the stampede. In addition to the Southern politicians and Northern ward heelers, many labor leaders and liberals are engaged in this effort.

Less important for the outcome of the convention fight, but important because of the miseducation it causes among radical workers, is the same effort being made by the Communist Party. Early in the campaign the Daily Worker tried to make the Democratic Party palatable to workers and Negroes by urging support for a liberal like Kefauver.

For some weeks now it has been urging abandonment of Kefauver and Harriman for all-out support to Stevenson. It called for this to preserve the unity of the Democratic Party and to counter-balance Dixiecrat influence on Stevenson. In this way, the Daily Worker fallaciously argues, Stevenson can be liberalized and made over into a champion of the working people's interests. (See editorial page 3 on the Role of the Liberals.)

VA Takes Away Thompson Pension

AUGUST 7 — In a new assault on civil liberties, the Veteran's Administration today refused to reinstate the disability pension of Communist Party leader Robert Thompson. Now imprisoned under a Smith "Gag" Act conviction, Thompson was denied his pension on the sole ground of his public utterances. Strong protest last year blocked the VA in an identical move against the legless veteran, James Kutcher. Unfortunately, there was not enough of the same pressure to halt the VA's victimization of Thompson at this stage. Thompson is planning to appeal the ruling.

Public Housing 'Loyalty Oath' Abandoned by Att.-Gen'l

The Federal government has abandoned its fight to compel residents of Federally-aided housing projects to sign "loyalty oaths." On Aug. 3, The Public Housing Authority announced that the Justice Department had ruled that the oath was "temporary legislation" which had expired.

The measure, tacked on by Rep. Gwinn (R-N.Y.) as a rider to the 1953 and 1954 Appropriations Act, required tenants to swear they did not belong to any organization on the Attorney-General's "subversive" list. Prior to the Justice Department ruling, the Housing Authority had lost about two dozen court cases arising from its attempts to evict tenants for refusing to sign the oath.

The ruling is the third major victory scored in recent months by the legless veteran James Kutcher, who was among the first to challenge the witch-hunt measure.

Last month, Kutcher was returned to his job following an eight-year battle that began when the Veteran's Administration fired him because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Last spring, he regained his disability pension after a government move to cut it off provoked a national outcry of protest.

In 1953, Kutcher who lives with his aged parents in a Newark housing project, went to court to block an eviction order issued after his parents told the Housing Authority it could not sign the oath because of their son's membership in the SWP. Last winter Kutcher won an injunction from the New Jersey Supreme Court against the authority's efforts to drive him and his parents out of their home.

After Kutcher won the injunction, the Newark Housing Director gave up trying to get tenants to sign the oath. The Justice Department ruling completes the victory. It underscores the importance of every individual standing up against the witch-hunters.

JAMES KUTCHER

JAPANESE POW'S REPORT

The Revolt in Prison Camps of Siberia

This report of the revolt of the prisoners in the Norilsk prison camp in the Soviet Union was received by us from a Japanese Trotskyist. He obtained the information contained in the report from a group of returned Japanese war prisoners who were in the Norilsk prison camp at the time of the revolt.

Last year we published Brigitte Gerland's reports as a participant in the great Vorkuta prisoner uprising of 1953. The present account fits in with and rounds out the picture she presented of the situation in the Soviet prison camps in the period following Stalin's death. — Ed.

The story of the great revolt of the Norilsk prison camp was first told by 34 Japanese war prisoners who witnessed the revolt and were sent back to Japan last year.

Norilsk is near the east bank of the mouth of the Yenisei river. It is a town of prisoners. They produce copper, gold, platinum, cobalt; and there are combines of these minerals. There is a six story building, constructed, of course, by the forced labor of the prisoners. The city had in March 1954, 300,000 citizens (mostly those who had served their terms but were not allowed to return to the free areas of the Soviet Union.)

Among these citizens there were 45,000 common criminals; about 180,000 political prisoners; 60,000 emigrants; 15,000 government officials. In addition, actual prisoners numbered 45,000 as follows: 15,000 political prisoners; 30,000 common criminals. The ratio of men to women was 4 to 1. In national origin, most of the Soviet prisoners were Ukranians and the rest from the three Baltic nationalities. Non-Soviet prisoners included Germans, Czechs, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Hungarians, Italians, etc.

Just like the general strike of Vorkuta, the direct cause of the revolt was the death of Stalin. With his death the hope of immediate amnesty flared up, but the decree of amnesty on March 27, 1953 released only those who committed murder, theft or robbery. Political prisoners were completely excluded and were enraged at the crushing of their hope.

The revolt was first started at the Fifth Special (political) camp which stands in the east of Gorb Stroi north Norilsk. Near this are the Fourth and Sixth (women's) Special camps. At the time of the event, the Fifth was said to hold 15,000 prisoners, but this figure seems to be uncertain. The Fourth camp had 4,000. Most of these prisoners were Ukrainians who were moved there from other places in the summer of 1952. The prisoners of the Fifth and Fourth camps were engaged in the construction of the six-storied building. Next to the Fifth camp was the brick factory where women prisoners worked.

Guards Touch Off Outbreak

The prisoners communicated with each other secretly by throwing stones wrapped in letters. On May 7, 1953, at lunch time, they were exchanging letters in that way. One of the letters thrown by some woman didn't reach its destination, but dropped between the two outer and inner barbed wire entanglements.

Fearing a guard might find it and take it, men prisoners tried to reach for the letter. The sentinel shot a man in the arm. Outraged, the men protested, and threw stones at the sentinel. After two or three intimidating shots into the sky, the sentinel shot into the prisoners and wounded one more of them. This was a violation of the promise that under no conditions would guards shoot into the camp.

The angered crowds rushed to the office of the director of the camp and demanded that the sentinel be tried and punished. Angered by the evasive answers of the director, they thrust him away and overturned the desk. The day shift thus entered into sabotage. On May 9, the night shift entrenched itself in the building under construction, started a sit-down strike, and didn't return in the morning.

Thus the whole Fifth camp went on strike. The news spread at once to other camps. The Tenth, Fourth, and the women's Sixth also went on strike in sympathy.

The night shift of the Fifth camp painted in huge white letters on the sixth story "Down with the Soviet bureaucrats," "Hurrah for the death of Stalin." The night shift that had gone on sit-down strike returned to camp on the morning of the 12th and joined the day shift in its strike. A powerful sentiment of resistance dominated all the prisoners, and they began to organize a formal struggle.

The director, in great consternation, at 9 AM broadcast the warning: "Those who sabotage the work will be punished with three years penalty; go to work at once." But to prisoners already under long sentence, three years did not matter. Instead, they caught the director at his office near the guard house and shouted at him: "You are not big enough to deal with; bring Malenkov here."

In order not to reveal their leaders, the prisoners acted together and shouted together. Surprised by the event, the head of the combine stepped out and tried to persuade them—in vain. At last one evening the Governor flew to Norilsk.

Some said he was major General Panikov, director of Yenisei Stroi of Krasnoyarsk. But he only sat at the table on the road in front of the post room, and didn't say a word. His secretary spoke. The prisoners who surrounded them shouted "You are not big enough to talk with; bring somebody from Moscow." To this he only answered "No superior official will come. If you do not stop your strike at once, you will get three years." And there was no hope of solution.

What the Prisoners Demanded

At last a lieutenant-general of the MVD, a vice-minister under Beria, came from Moscow and broadcast that the delegates should come with a petition. Instead of being caught by such a trick, the prisoners went up to him in a body, and after an exchange of words, seven or eight explainers presented their petition. **The leader of these explainers was a former member of the CP and a graduate of Moscow University. He was a genuine communist who criticized the present conditions in the USSR. He had been sent to the camp, after a document was discovered on him in which he stated that what was happening in the USSR did not agree with communist teachings.**

The petition read as follows:

(1) Cut down prison terms and improve rations.

(2) Reduce work hours from 12 to eight.

(3) Since most of us political prisoners are serving 15 to 25 years, provide cultural facilities for us. Our intellectual advancement ought to be very important for Soviet construction.

(4) Let us serve our terms in some other districts, not in Norilsk. In Norilsk, too, exchange work places fairly. There are big differences between various work places.

(5) Completely stop all national discrimination in treatment of prisoners.

(6) Change the camp director and establish the strictest audit of the accounts of the combines. (The audit was supposed to be made once or twice a year by the combines, but its method and frequency were very lax, and officials made profit from the labor of prisoners.)

The lieutenant-general promised an investigation and an answer. Thus the first wave of the strike was ended. The authorities utilized this lull to disperse the strength of the prisoners. On May 19, they moved Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Hungarians, Italians, Germans, Czechs—in all, about 300—into other camps under the pretext that, as the result of Stalin's death, they would be allowed to return to their countries. On May 20, about 7,000 were moved from the Fifth into the Fourth camp, in order to reduce the strength of the Fifth camp.

The answers of the authorities were very unsatisfactory. On May 21, the second strike was started. About 1 AM, guards appeared in a fire engine and tried to bar access to every camp from outside —in this way to separate them from each other and overwhelm them one by one. A prisoner who happened to be awake sounded the alarm. The prisoners attacked the fire engine and almost killed the driver.

After this incident the prisoners placed their own guards and set up their own self-governing system in opposition to the authorities. Thus all camps came under their power. On May 23, the authorities began armed suppression. They moved all the foreign prisoners to a nearby hill, and entered into final negotiations. When the negotiations broke down, the armed forces formed a semi-circle penetrated through the front and back gates, pressed the prisoners towards the road between the warehouses and the bakery and fired volleys at them. Many insane prisoners who were taking a bath there, were surprised by the noise of the shooting. They ran out in front of the prisoners into the midst of the volleys, and more than half of them were killed on the instant. The sight was too gruesome to bear. These mentally-deranged individuals raised anti-Soviet shouts, stood before the gun-fire and fell dead.

One of the Japanese ex-prisoners who was involved in the tragedy related that on his way to the detention house, the corpses were lying so thick that it was impossible not to step on them. The road was blood stained all over. And he could not forget the wounds of the corpses, which were just like cuts inflicted by sword but were really caused by machine gun fire. The revolt of the Fifth camp was thus suppressed with armed forces.

The Strike Spreads

Other camps which rose up in response to the Fifth presented the same bloody sights. One of the Japanese repatriates said, "When we were moved to an unnamed camp and arrived there, the women's Sixth camp was also besieged and was under attack."

Through the noise of rifle firing there was heard the screams of women, and among the soldiers were seen heads wearing neckerchiefs. Women prisoners threw filth from the latrines, or jumped out naked in front of the soldiers and resisted them. Normally, they never allowed their body skin to show. This was their last method of resistance.

At the time of the first strike, the Tenth camp had captured many Aftamats (a kind of automatic rifle) and ordinary rifles. Now they detained the director in the detention house as a hostage, following which a battle literally was fought between the prisoners and the troops. The prisoners were besieged near the camp gate and were annihilated.

The general strike which was started at the Fifth and Fourth camps and instantly spread to the Second, Third, Sixth and 25th —that is, to all special (political) camps of Norilsk and became a general insurrection of all political prisoners—this revolt was thus crushed by armed force.

The Third camp alone refused to surrender to the ultimatum shouted from over the barricade by Major General Semiyonov, commander of Norilsk garrison, **and Major General Panikov, director of Yenisei Stroi .The prisoners chased the officers, proclaiming, "We won't deal with the director; bring some responsible man from the Central Government from Moscow. We will settle the matter with Voroshilow." They continued to refuse all negotiations.**

The Third camp had at the time 2,500 prisoners. The prisoners continued, under perfectly organized control, a long strike of three months. They pulled down the red flag, raised a black flag, flew huge kites from within the camp and distributed leaflets over the city. The leaflets read, "We won't deal with men in Norilsk. If they want to negotiate, let them bring in a responsible man from Moscow." "Publish the truth about the Beria Affair."

The garrison authorities, having exhausted all methods, decided on armed repression, at about 11 P.M. on August 11, besieged the Third camp, and fired volleys from outside the fence. The terrible noise of firing resounded throughout the city. The citizens could not sleep at all. How long they lasted—those five or six hours!

It was 6 A. M. when at last the terror and strain came to an end. Out of the 2,500, about 1,500 were killed. Countless others were seriously wounded. The doctors who were mobilized took three days just for first aid.

Thus the insurrectionary strike ended after more than three months, but the result was not in vain. For an evaluation of the event, the comments of the Japanese repatriates were full of rich suggestions, from which the following conclusions may be drawn:

The direct cause of the revolt was the shooting of May 7, but there was an underlying movement which caught up this incident and systematically developed it. Deeper down, the uprising was due first to the hope aroused in the prisoners by Stalin's death and then the betrayal of these hopes. But the revolt may have been already planned even prior to Stalin's death. The Ukrainians who led the revolt had been sent to Norilsk in the summer of 1952. It was said they had also planned a strike at their former camp, and had been moved to this city on that account.

Even when the news of Stalin's death reached the prisoners, they purposely refrained from any reaction likely to be noticed by the authorities. "When we were working at Golu Stroi, we learned through the radio that Stalin was dead," said a Japanese repatriate. "One of us in his great joy, put up a white cloth tied to a pole on a pile of bricks as a flag. And we were noisily talking in our excitement. Then a Ukranian about 34 or 35 years old came to us and warned us to be careful. It seemed that he was one of the leaders."

What the Strike Revealed

From the arrival of the Ukrainians and until about the death of Stalin, four prisoners were mysteriously killed. All were considered as spies for the authorities. The guards within the camp did not search for the murderer; they might have been afraid of reprisals. Nor was it ever known how the weapons with which the murders were committed, had been brought into the camp.

These facts suggest that the revolt was secretly and systematically planned and led. Then what were the causes for the revolt? A careful study of the prisoners' petition will reveal them. In a word, the prisoners demanded better treatment.

But the third clause of their demands needs special attention. It demanded improvement in the cultural facilities. One of the repatriates said, "After sharing life together with the Ukrainians my opinion about their ideas is as follows: "The present Soviet can never last long; something is bound to happen before our term of 25 years is served out. We do not want to become wrecks by that time, who can do no activity when the time comes. For that we want some economic margin and more than that a cultural development."

"Therefore their plan is far reaching and of long view, and their organization strong. The leaders were unknown, not only to the authorities but to us all who acted together with them.

"Nevertheless, leadership was always definite and prompt. The slogans of the leaders reached all the prisoners in an instant and became one common shout of the whole crowd before the authorities."

But how could the prisoners hold on to their convictions so fiercely against the formidable power of the government? The following results of their struggle will answer eloquently. The demand for the removal of the director was realized and he was transferred to another camp.

"Wages were definitely improved. A common laborer got 80 or 90 roubles a month before the revolt, but after it he got 200 roubles a month. After the event, camp officials curbed their thieving and also their personal exploitation of prisoners."

"Therefore the prisoners fought with conviction as they discovered the weakness of the government's authority. Theirs was anything but a reckless adventure born of the anger of the moment.

"The leaders seemed to have been the Ukrainians above mentioned; but victims of the great purges of the 1930's were also included in the leadership. There thus arose a strong unity." And the former prisoner mentioned the name of Baranzin (?) a former private secretary of L. Trotsky who was imprisoned in 1937; former university professors, former army officers including one lieutenant-general, Irizinski; the president of Latvia in 1932, Alexandrovich, etc.

Then the repatriate said that on May 7, the instant the strike broke out, the news spread like an electric shock throughout the area reported as far as Dudinka. At the coal mine of Kaerukan (?) on May 9, a strike broke out in the Fifth camp. There too, the Ukrainians led it. They first killed 40 or 50 of the worst bosses and then began the strike.

The repatriates also said that while the Norilsk revolt continued, reliable news reached the prisoners that in the Vorkuta camps a revolt had broken out. The repatriates said that only two or three days after the strike began the intelligence organ of the U.S. caught the news and broadcast over the Voice of America a report of the revolt that was fairly accurate.

We can draw this further very important conclusion from the summary of the reports of the eyewitnesses. (1) The prisoners sentenced to long terms showed an unshakable conviction that the present bureaucratic dictatorship can not last long, and that the prisoners demand for facilities for their cultural development and for maintaining their physical strength anticipate the day of their future activity.

If they can hold such convictions under the hardship of the Arctic region, why can't the workers in the rest of the Soviet Union? It is clear that the prisoners derived their revolutionary convictions from witnessing daily the hopeless corruption of the bureaucracy. A similar revolutionary conviction, derived from the same source, must be growing throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe. This is reflected in Khrushchev's speeches and confirmed by the revolt in Poznan, Poland. Every new concession the bureaucracy gives the workers confirms and strengthens this conviction.

THE MILITANT ARMY

As we open the drive to win new readers with our special three-month introductory subscription for 50 cents all indications point to a successful campaign. Across the country in the past months there has been a stepped-up circulation of the Militant among radical-minded workers, particularly among those associated with the Communist Party. Increasing numbers are accepting the paper with interest and sympathy. That can only lead to new subscribers.

We won't get on a limb predicting the top-scoring area in the subscription campaign but we will flatly predict that the **Minneapolis-St. Paul Militant Army** will be right up front. The element of risk in this prediction is of course made minimum by its consistently impressive record in every previous drive. Further, the Minneapolis-St. Paul salesmen have already cleared the deck for an all-out drive for new subscribers. During the month of June they cleared up all lapsed subscriptions in the area, putting themselves in a position to get new subscribers without any need to worry about neglecting the old ones.

During the "Minnesota Militant Month" 57 six-month and one-year subs were turned in. The salesmen also sold five copies of Daniel Guerin's book, Negroes on the March and also obtained two subscriptions to Fourth International (now International Socialist Review.)

The following letter from our Twin Cities agent, **Winifred Nelson**, reveals one of the "secrets of their success." She writes, "Paul and I were on vacation so we devoted some of our time to Militant and literature work. . . We went calling Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. Monday we visited a subscriber who renewed last week. He is a member of the Dining Car Employees Union and friendly to us, very much so, regretting not having the time to come to our meetings. He and his wife both were immediately interested in buying a copy of 'Negroes on the March.'

"On Tuesday we visited an ex-Communist Party member who has been friendly to us in the recent period. . . He said he had sent his sub direct to you but we had a good discussion with him on the Khrushchev speech and he is going to take copies of the Militant containing this document for distribution among his old-time CP friends. . .

"Wednesday we went to see another railroad worker. . . His sub expired a while back — he's been laid off twice in the past year. . . Now that he's working again, he renewed his sub and we talked with him and his son and daughter-in-law. His son is a militant worker too, and reads the Militant right along — appreciates it too.

"Fun to be on vacation, isn't it? We really enjoy ourselves when we have time to get out and do this kind of work, and discuss with people."

The Crisis in the European and American CP's

By Morris Stein

The world crisis of Stalinism has assumed varying forms in the Communist parties of the capitalist countries. The Communist parties of France, Italy and the United States typify three distinct variants as to the intensity of the crisis and the form it has taken.

Of the three, the French Communist Party remains the least affected. Its four-day congress, concluded July 21 at Le Havre, differed little from previous congresses. The proceedings revolved around the report by the party's general secretary Maurice Thorez, who until the cult of the individual fell into disrepute, was hailed in the CP as the "French Stalin."

The cult of the individual was, of course, dutifully condemned by Thorez. His target, however, was not the cult, but those who tried to probe into its origin and social roots. "It would be an idealistic deformation of history," he said, "to attribute to an individual no matter how eminent, the unbelievable power to modify by himself the social regime. As to the affirmation that the cult of the individual flows from Soviet system, from the allegedly anti-democratic character of the system itself, this is contrary to all the facts."

With this airy generalization Thorez dismisses the 30-year Stalinist perversion of the Soviet system and shuts off any line of discussion that investigates this development.

Thorez' remarks were in no way intended as a contribution to the discussion on the origin and nature of Stalinism. It was meant as an order to end all discussion. And this is what the Congress delegates took it to mean. Not a single speaker dared question or refute Thorez. His report was approved by the customary unanimous vote. To further emphasize strict adherence to Stalinist monolithism the outgoing members of the Central Committee and the Political Buro, were re-elected en-bloc.

As for France itself, Thorez saw no sign of the cult of the individual. One speaker, Ooghe, secretary of the Pas-de-Calais federation, did detect the danger of the cult of the individual in France. But the danger had been surmounted, he said, when August Lecoeur, one of the party's secretaries was expelled some time ago. It was Lecoeur, according to Ooghe who tried to build a cult around himself.

To make sure that the danger of Lecoeurism is not revived, the CP bureaucrats organized a goon squad to break up a public meeting at Henin-Lietard, where Lecoeur was scheduled to speak shortly before the CP congress. Lecoeur himself was badly beaten up.

The Thorez line, represents the determination of the Kremlin to contain the crisis of Stalinism and prevent it from becoming a crisis that will endanger the very power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste. Thorez himself, by his mode of living—a private villa in the aristocratic Cannes resort, with costly chauffeur-driven automobiles at his disposal—is flesh of the flesh of the Soviet bureaucrats. His line is the Kremlin's line. This is shown by the recent statement of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union.

To strengthen Thorez' hand against the rank and file in the French party, the Kremlin bureaucracy sent a delegation to the Congress for the first time. It was headed by Suslov, a member of the secretariat of the CP of the Soviet Union, who took pains to refer to Thorez as "a very dear friend."

In contrast to the treatment given Thorez, Togliatti, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, was openly reprimanded in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union adopted June 30.

An Italian periodical, Nuovi-Argomenti, June 16th, quoted Togliatti as follows: "Soviet Democratic life was limited, partly suffocated, by the ascendency of a bureaucratic and authoritarian method of leadership, and by violations of the legality of the regime."

In this statement Togliatti is at odds with Thorez not only on the "facts" about the internal regime in the Soviet Union but also on what constitutes an "idealistic distortion of history."

Togliatti says categorically: "As long as we confine ourselves, in substance, to denouncing the personal faults of Stalin as the cause of everything we remain within the realm of the 'personality cult.' . . . The true problems are evaded, which are why and how Soviet society could reach and did reach certain forms alien to the democratic way and to the legality which it had set for itself, even to the point of degeneration."

After the CPSU issued its resolution Togliatti, just as every other top Stalinist functionary, was compelled to fall into line. Even then, however, he tried to uphold his point of view, if only by implication. "In my opinion, and I have said so openly, the line followed by the Soviet comrades in the construction of a Communist society was undoubtedly right," said Togliatti; "but within the general framework of this acknowledgement, there may be differing opinions on the value and importance of the errors committed under Stalin's leadership, the violations of legality, the restrictions on democracy, and so on, over the economic and political development of the Soviet Union."

As can be seen, Togliatti beat a considerable retreat from his earlier declarations, without, however, going as far in support of the CPSU resolution as Thorez.

It has become common knowledge that within the leadership of the American Communist Party there are three distinct tendencies. There has been no report made to the membership about the differences, but the division is readily discernible from a reading of statements appearing in the Daily Worker.

There is the viewpoint of William Z. Foster, which is equivalent to the Thorez position. Last April at the time of his first pronouncements on the Stalin cult following the 20th Congress, Foster kept emphasizing Stalin's contributions and minimizing even those crimes of the Stalin dictatorship that Khrushchev had revealed. In one of his articles, Foster described Stalin's monstrous crimes as merely "incorrect methods of work."

The editors of the Daily Worker, on the other hand, have taken a stand similar to that of Togliatti's. They have been far more critical than Foster of Stalin, Stalinism (they have themselves used the term) and Stalin's heirs. Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the American CP has tried to straddle the two points of view.

All three groups fell into line with the resolution of the CPSU. At the same time in its own resolution, the National Committee of the American party clung to its right to maintain differences on two points on which the Daily Worker had previously criticized the Soviet government sharply—namely, "the question of bureaucratic distortions of Socialist society, as well as the happenings in the sphere of Jewish cultural institutions and their leadership."

While the American leadership is toeing the line laid down in the resolution of the CC of the CPSU it is significant that it still voices implied criticism on questions that involve the very basis of the rule of the Soviet oligarchy.

How account for the differences in the original reaction to the end of the Stalin cult, and then in the degree of compliance with the edict of the CC of the CPSU? Do they reflect genuine ideological differentiations in the Stalinist apparatus? Or do they stem from the different problems confronting the French, Italian and American parties respectively? We will deal with these questions in a forthcoming article.

Deep in the Siberian mine
Keep your patience proud,
The bitter toil shall not be lost
The rebel thought unbowed.
The heavy hanging chains will fall,
The walls will crumble at a word;
And freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword.

— Pushkin (1827)

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The Role of the Liberal Democrats

As election time approaches, union leaders, liberal and social-democratic organizations, and the Communist Party are stepping up their efforts to sell the Democratic Party to working class and Negro voters.

Salesmen of a shoddy ware, they do not describe their whole product but dwell on the alleged virtues of the Northern liberal Democrats, and Adlai Stevenson, the most probable candidate. This emphasis, it is hoped, will win the votes of labor militants, fighters against Jim Crow and socialist-minded workers. Great promises are being made for what the liberal Democrats can accomplish in cleansing their party and, if elected, in reversing the tide of reaction which has engulfed the country.

Such promises are false and consciously hypocritical.

The Northern liberals cannot, nor want to, renovate the Democratic Party. To get rid of either the Southern white supremacists or the corrupt machines would mean the party's death. The liberals well realize this and have consistently backed down from any real fight with the arrogant, anti-labor, anti-Negro Southern wing or with the city bosses.

Any reader, beguiled by the propaganda that the liberal Democrats are fighters for civil liberties and civil rights, should ponder the two following facts.

Okay Smith Act

First, on civil liberties. The penalty for violation of the Smith Act — the cornerstone of the witch hunt — has just been increased from five to 20 years. As Murray Kempton ably demonstrated in the New York Post (Aug. 1), although all the liberal Democrats except Kefauver were present in the Senate when the bill was proposed there was no debate and it passed unanimously.

After the House passed the same bill, it was again voted unanimously by the Senate. Thus without a peep of objection from the whole roster of liberal Democratic Senators, Americans can now be imprisoned for two decades for "conspiring to advocate," i.e. express ideas or say words prohibited by the witch hunters. This is how the liberal Democrats defend civil liberties!

Second, is the record of the liberal Democrats on civil rights. Despite repeated platform planks and countless promises to labor and Negro audiences, the liberal Democrats have never yet made a half-way serious fight to pass civil rights laws. Recently they staged a disgusting sham battle in Congress to provide themselves with a fig-leaf record on civil rights for use before labor and Negro audiences in the coming campaign.

Even by Congressional standards the spectacle was so cheap that Democratic Senate leader Lyndon Johnson and Republican Senate leader Knowland treated the move with open contempt instead of worry. Johnson taunted Lehman and Douglas by asking why they had not made the move in April rather than in the 84th Congress' closing hours.

"It is only kidding the minority groups and the American people," Knowland jeered, to make a move in the last hours of the session, "which everyone knows as a practical matter cannot be accomplished."

Not Even a Fake Battle

These then are the deeds — not the words — of the Democratic liberals on civil liberties and civil rights. What about labor legislation, such as repeal of Taft-Hartley promised in the Democratic platforms of 1948 and 1952? The liberals don't bother any more even to make a sham battle on it. Yet these are the people for whom union militants, anti-segregationists and socialist-minded workers are being asked to vote. Voting for them is not a mere negative choosing of the lesser evil. It is a positive blow to labor and the Negro movement for it serves to continue the disaster-producing alliance of the workers' movement to a corrupt, reactionary capitalist party.

Those who want to destroy the witch hunt, restore civil liberties and make civil rights for the Negro people a reality, should dedicate themselves to making labor an effective political force in this country. This can be done today by building an independent labor party based on the unions, the Negro people and the small farmers.

The job will require a lot of education, agitation and grass-roots organization, and the first step is to destroy the illusion that the Democratic Party is a vehicle for any sort of progress in America.

This November, class-conscious workers can preserve their independence from the capitalist parties with their Jim Crow elements by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, which strives for the regrouping of militants, defenders of civil liberties and civil rights in a labor party.

McAvoy Calls for Free Debate Among Left

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK — Calling upon all those who "profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist," Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party mayoralty candidate, says in a letter published in the August 6 National Guardian that so far as he is concerned: "I shall vote for Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, in November."

The McAvoy letter constitutes an open challenge to the policy advocated by the Communist Party of supporting candidates of the Democratic Party in the 1956 election, while "professing devotion to socialism." The National Guardian is the weekly paper of the now defunct Progressive Party. It has for some time carried letters in its columns devoted to a discussion of "third party" politics versus "coalition" with the Democrats as preached and practiced by the American Communist Party.

"The Guardian," says McAvoy in his letter, "has the opportunity this year to play the most valuable role of its eight years of existence. The Guardian's independent status makes it possible for it to organize public forums on the issues of the '56 elections in which all political points of view could be debated. Such debates," McAvoy adds, "could clarify the issues and lead to a regroupment of the American Left after the elections."

McAvoy's appeal to the Guardian to sponsor such debates and discussions among the various political tendencies in the American working class movement was obviously motivated by the failure of the Communist Party leaders to live up to their breast-beating promises to sponsor frank, free and full discussion through the institutions under their direction, influence or control. A case in point is the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York.

Following the initial shock of Khrushchev's speech detailing the monstrous crimes of the Stalin regime, the directors of the Jefferson School wrote a lengthy letter to the Stalinist Daily Worker, renouncing their past practice of narrow-minded adherence to the "Stalin cult." In a spate of "self-criticism" published in the May 6 Worker they wrote:

"Although dissent has always been permitted at the Jefferson School, we have tended in one way or another to discourage any really serious questioning of our teachings. Students already predisposed to accept uncritically what is taught have been further conditioned in this weakness, rather than helped to develop truly scientific attitudes. Our class-rooms and forums must come to be centers of lively discussion and controversy — where every proposition is subjected to the test of logic and experience, where the struggle over ideas is encouraged as indispensable for true learning."

CP MONOPOLY

That was in May. For weeks on end following the Khrushchev revelations, the forum of the Jefferson School was monopolized by various and sundry leaders of the American Communist Party haranguing, apologizing, justifying and explaining their 30 years of "mistakes and errors" under Stalin's ineffable guidance. This was understandable — they had a lot to "explain." The real test however, came some few weeks after the publication of the Jefferson School directors letter, in July.

In the first days of July the Jefferson School announced its series of summer forums on the "Problems of American Marxism." All told six lectures were scheduled in the series. And with one single exception, all of the forum speakers scheduled to participate in the "debates" on a variety of subjects dealing with Communist Party policy, past, present and future, were spokesmen, supporters or adherents of the CP.

FARRELL DOBBS

The single exception was John T. McManus, General Manager of the National Guardian who debated Max Gordon, introduced as "managing editor" of the Daily Worker, on the subject: "What's Ahead for the American Left — The Communist and Other Socialist Trends." The chairman was Jefferson School director, David Goldway.

KERRY TAKES THE FLOOR

In the discussion, Tom Kerry, staff writer for the Militant, took the floor and reminded Goldway of his opening statement at the recent symposium of the Brooklyn Compass Club. At that meeting, Goldway, speaking on the same platform with Farrell Dobbs, McAvoy and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, lauded the Brooklyn forum group which sponsored the meeting in the following words:

"I would first commend the Brooklyn Compass Club for arranging this symposium. Gatherings such as this for the expression of divergent points of view among left and socialist-minded people cannot but be a positive factor in American political life. It is to be regretted that such discussions have taken place so infrequently in the recent past, and it is a wholesome sign of the times I guess that they're beginning to take place now."

Kerry also reminded the directors of the Jefferson School of their letter published in the Daily Worker. He pointed out the utter incongruity of such forums as those held by the Jefferson School, where other working-class political tendencies were the subject of discussion and debate without the participation of official representatives capable of presenting the views of the organizations under attack. This was especially true of Trotskyism which has been vilified, slandered, distorted and abused by Stalinist spokesmen for 30 years.

"Unless and until a Trotskyist spokesman appears on the platform of the Jefferson School forum," said Kerry, "all your breast-beating avowals of a full, frank and free discussion, are nothing but a hoax." There was no comment from the chairman nor the speakers.

States at Forum He'll Vote SWP

At the Jefferson School Forum on Aug. 7, on the topic, American Marxists and the Two Party System a young man rose in the discussion period and stated: "I am a member of the CP, but I am opposed to the election policy of the Communist Party. I intend to vote for the Trotskyist candidates [the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss]. I have a number of friends who are also in the CP and I think they too will vote for the Trotskyists."

The Stalin Men Who Rule East Germany

By John Black

With the fall of Matyas Rakosi in Hungary shortly after the Polish workers' rising in Poznan last June, the fate of all the top figures in the East European countries is more than ever in question. Rakosi was connected in his entire history with the rule of Stalin in the Soviet Union. The hatred of the masses for the bureaucratic top dogs was focused on him. The Hungarian regime had to make a scapegoat of him—although it tried for months to save him.

Nowhere in Eastern Europe is the regime of Kremlin-appointed functionaries so compromised by its connection with Stalinism and all its historic crimes as in East Germany. Walter Ulbricht, head of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party and Wilhelm Pieck, head of the East German Democratic Republic, are both deeply implicated in Stalin's crimes and they are in power exclusively because they were willing tools of Stalin.

The specific role Ulbricht and Pieck played in Stalin's crimes was not revealed in Khrushchev's report on Stalin to the 20th Congress last February. That was because Khrushchev never mentioned the fact that Stalin's murder machine was international in character and played a criminal role in disorganizing the revolutionary movement of the workers in all countries and outstandingly in Germany.

It will take a German edition of the "Khrushchev revelations" to bring to light some of the most gruesome details of the crimes of the Ulbrichts and Piecks. We can only cite some of the highlights of their histories as it has been related by numerous witnesses, former members of the German Communist Party, veterans of the Spanish Civil War, refugees from Stalin's concentration camps, etc.

Ulbricht and Pieck are the sole survivors of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the German Communist Party as it existed prior to Hitler's ascent to power. Both of them sided with Stalin in his struggle to strangle the independence of the CPG. They helped him expel all groups that retained any independence whatsoever from the Kremlin.

It was through their efforts that Stalin was able to impose his policies of bureaucratic ultimatism on the German CP — the policies of "united front from below" and "social fascism." It was these policies which paralyzed the fighting capacity of the German Communist workers, prevented them from forming a fighting alliance with the Social Democratic workers against fascism and led to Hitler's victory.

Tens of thousands of German workers went to jail and concentration camps. Communist and Socialist workers, both, perished in the mass executions and torture chambers of the Nazis.

Among the top leaders of the CPG who fled to the Soviet Union there were many who knew Stalin's criminal responsibility for the German debacle. Stalin couldn't let them survive. Central Committee members like Fritz Heckert, Heins Neumann, Remmele and others were framed by the GPU as Hitler agents and disappeared in the bloody Stalinist purges of the 1930's. Ulbricht and Pieck survived, cowering in their rooms in the Hotel Lux in Moscow, keeping their mouths tightly shut.

After the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, German Communists who had been sentenced to long terms at hard labor in the Soviet Union were handed over by the GPU to the Gestapo.

SENT TO THEIR DEATH

Some members of the Central Committee fled to capitalist countries and attempted to hold together the demoralized remaining cadres of the CPG. Prague and Paris were centers from which the party tried to remain in contact with the underground apparatus in Germany. Ulbricht and Pieck in their work for Stalin used the device of sending oppositionists within the party on the most dangerous missions into Germany, making sure they did not return.

It has been reported that Hans Kippenberger, German Communist in charge of the "technical apparatus" of the party, the courier service, who operated from Paris, was recalled to Moscow and was shot for refusing to participate in Ulbricht's and Pieck's denunciation of their political opponents to the Gestapo.

The Civil War in Spain and the formation of the International Brigade gave Stalin, Pieck and Ulbricht another opportunity to eliminate inner-party opponents who had a workers' following in Germany. Hans Beimler, popular working class leader and fiery Reichstag orator was known to be critical of the party regime. Beimler was killed by a bullet in the back while inspecting the trenches held by his comrades of the Thaelmann Battalion outside Madrid.

Pieck and Ulbricht spent the Second World War in the Soviet Union. They both swallowed Stalin's vile chauvinism which identified the German workers with Nazism. Stalin's motto was, "Kill Germans." It was a policy designed to discourage revolutionary action by the German working class during or after the war.

When the Soviet troops entered Germany, Pieck and Ulbricht returned and organized the dismantling and destruction of the remaining industry of East Germany. From their first day back in Germany they acted as Stalin's appointees and carried out their activities under the protective cover of the Kremlin's troops. They never based themselves on the independent activity and organization of the German workers. On the contrary, they stifled and prevented all such activity.

The explosion of June 1953 when the East German workers launched a general strike uprising revealed the degree to which this regime was isolated from the masses. In the uprising the Ulbricht-Pieck gang had nothing whatsoever to rely on for support except the Kremlin troops. After they were saved from overthrow by these troops, Ulbricht and Pieck proceeded to stamp out the last remaining sparks of independence within the party. The workers' revolt shook the party and the regime to its foundations. But with the help of the Kremlin the Ulbricht gang came out on top in the inner-party struggle that ensued and—for the time being — retained control of the reins of power.

But how firm is this control? The process that is undermining the power of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, is at work all over Eastern Europe and in East Germany. Ulbricht and Pieck remember well that when Stalin's heirs began to make admissions and concessions after Stalin's death in 1953, this led to a wave of workers' struggle for basic economic and political demands all over Eastern Europe climaxed by the June 1953 general strike in East Germany.

Yet today they are forced to echo the attacks on Stalin and promise more political and economic concessions to the East German workers. They do so cautiously and reluctantly because they know that each concession can become the starting point for fresh workers' demands and struggles which will in the end lead to a political revolution against the rule of the bureaucratic overlords.

INT'L SOCIALIST REVIEW COMES OFF THE PRESS

By Herman Chauka

The summer issue of the International Socialist Review (formerly Fourth International) is now off the press. The magazine's new name, explain the editors, "does not signify a change in editorial policy. We shall continue as before to present the Trotskyist outlook on world events, emphasizing in particular questions involving Marxist theory."

The first issue of ISR presents a rounded appraisal of events since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Khrushchev's closed-session speech is analyzed by the magazine's editor, Murry Weiss. **His article, "The Vindication of Trotsky," provides a Marxist explanation of the Stalin cult so conspicuously absent from Khrushchev's presentation.**

DEFENDS POZNAN WORKERS

An editorial on the Poznan uprising lays bare the social antagonisms between worker and bureaucrat that exploded last June in a general strike and demonstration. The editorial defends the workers against Stalinist frame-up charges and explains why the workers' action was completely in harmony with the needs of socialist development in the Soviet bloc.

"Developments in the Soviet Union since the 20th Congress," by Daniel Roberts, Editor of the Militant, summarizes the major concessions granted by the Kremlin since the congress. These concessions, he shows, can only serve to intensify the workers' pressure for restoration of Soviet democracy.

The current installment of James P. Cannon's "Letters to a Historian"—a patricipant's account of the early history of the Communist Party—describes the factional power struggle that reached a decisive stage with the death in 1927 of the Party's General Secretary, Charles Ruthenberg. Jay Lovestone, who had the support of only a minority of the Party replaced Ruthenberg after a "cable from Moscow" turned his minority into a "majority."

It was in this period, Cannon writes, that "The role of the Comintern in the affairs of the American Communist Party was transformed from that of a friendly influence in matters of policy into that of a direct, brutal arbiter in organizational questions, including the most important question, the selection of the leadership."

TROTSKY REPRINT

Also featured is a reprint of Leon Trotsky's "The Workers State and the question of Thermidor and Bonapartism."

The article has the special interest of showing how a genuine Marxist corrects a theoretical conception (in this case on the question of a Soviet Thermidor). Trotsky writes: "Our tendency never laid claim to infallibility. We do not receive ready made truths as a revelation, like the high-priests of Stalinism. We study, we discuss, we check our conclusions in the light of existence, we openly correct the admitted mistakes, and—we proceed forward."

The magazine also contains a statement by the SWP candidate for Senator from Michigan, Rita Shaw, "From a Socialist Workers Party Candidate — An Appeal to Radical workers."

In the book review department, Joseph Hansen dissects the thesis that Stalinism is the inevitable offspring of Leninism and that the Moscow Trials victims had a "psychological disposition" to confess. The thesis is advanced in "Ritual of Liquidation — Bolshevik on Trial," by Leits and Bermut.

...Masses Rally to Aid Egypt

(Continued from page 1)

matic and military problem for U.S., Britain and France in their plans to crush Egypt by force, but raises two other major threats.

A UNITED ARAB STATES

First is that the oil fields, pipe lines and refineries in the Middle East countries might be nationalized in the course of the struggle and the oil profits used to raise the standard of living of these countries rather than enrich the capitalists of the West.

Second is the danger that the Arab world from Baghdad to Morocco may become welded into one anti-imperialist political unit in the struggle. This is foreshadowed by the proposed federal United Arab States now being discussed by Syria and Egypt. Hitherto the imperialists have utilized to the maximum — and largely brought about — the division of the Arab world into small countries. They have played one off against the other politically and economically. The strength of one great Arab nation would make the old divide-and-rule game impossible.

In addition to the unanimous support of Egypt in the Arab Middle East, the peoples of Asia and Africa have rallied to her support. Consequently the governments of India, Indonesia, and other former colonial countries which are now self-governing, are using publicity and diplomatic means against Western imperialism's move to disguise its aggression against Egypt with talk of morality and international law.

REACTION AT HOME

As the Mediterranean correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor writes (Aug. 6) from Cairo: "It is not only in the Arab world that governments and peoples are siding with Colonel Nasser against the West. It seems clear that he has the moral backing of many millions of people in Asia and Africa. Many observers here believe the use of force against Egypt would quickly and, perhaps irrevocably commit against the West those people of Asia and Africa hitherto uncommitted in the world power struggle."

Finally, a factor causing the imperialists to hesitate in their plans to subject Egypt to a Korea-type "police action," is the failure of the government-inspired propaganda campaign to arouse enthusiasm for such a war in either the U.S., Britain or France. In the U.S. where Korea is a bitter memory, the single greatest asset of the Eisenhower regime is the fact that it ended that "police action." To plunge into another in Egypt on the verge of an election in which the Republican slogan is "Peace and Prosperity," could be disastrous.

DOUBLE-TALK

This is behind the change in Dulles' tune from the London Big Three conference, where he reportedly consented to military action against Egypt, and his television speech where with Eisenhower he declared the U.S. was not committed to military action. London and French saber rattlers considered this change, dictated by administration strategists who keep their finger on the pulse of American public opinion, a double-cross and have accused the Eisenhower administration of succumbing to "electoral cowardice."

Nonetheless when Eisenhower was asked at his press conference if his remarks meant that he was "opposed to the use of military force under any circumstances" against Egypt, "the president stiffened and flushed. 'I didn't say that' he asserted. 'I was very careful not to say that,' he added. . . ." (New York Times Aug. 9).

'STOP THE MADNESS'

In Great Britain where the Labor Party bureaucrats solidarized themselves with the Tory imperialists, workers' discontent with the war plans are increasingly making themselves heard. Tribune, the newspaper representing the views of the Labor Party left-wing, had as its main headline, "Stop This Suez Madness." The article accused Britain of "70 years of bullying and cheating the Egyptian people." Aneurin Bevan counterposed to the imperialist proposition of internationalizing Suez, internationalizing all commercial waterways (Panama Canal, Strait of Gibraltar, Dardanelles, etc.)

In France, where the current war against the Algerian people has brought workers' demonstrations and mutinies of soldiers refusing to embark for Algeria, there is no question that the extension of "the dirty war" to Egypt would bring new and greater opposition.

Thus the determination of the Arab peoples to fight in defense of Egypt's right to own and rule all of Egypt, including Suez, has aroused tremendous support in all Asian and African countries struggling for national freedom.

At the same time the war plans of the imperialists, evoking no enthusiasm from the workers at home, face the threat of growing opposition. These are the only forces deterring the imperialists from dropping their napalm bombs on Egyptian villages and instituting a regime of terror such as that in Cyprus and Algeria. Increased opposition alone can force the imperialists to abandon their brutal invasion plans.

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Rita Shaw

Negro and White Wage Differential in Detroit

[This article is reprinted from the Aug. 4 Afro-American. Its author is Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan. — Ed.]

DETROIT — Statistics show that colored persons earn higher incomes in the Detroit area than anywhere else in the country. But on the other hand, economic discrimination is still in evidence in the Motor City.

Proof of the above statements is contained in the annual reports of the University of Michigan's "Detroit Area Study" published recently. The study is based on 1955 incomes and the following table, based on these reports, has been converted from annual to weekly figures:

DETROIT MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES
Weekly, 1951-1955

Year	White Families	Colored Families	Differential	Ratio
1951	$ 92	$ 67	$ 25	73%
1952	102	71	31	70
1953	117	77	40	66
1954	110	71	39	65
1955	117	79	38	68

("Median" as used in this table means that one-half of the families covered in the reports earned more than this amount, and one-half earned less.)

It is noted in the report that with the exception of 1954, which was marked by widespread unemployment, colored family income, like white family income, steadily increased during the five year period.

Weekly income of colored families rose $12 during the five years, but at the same time white family income increased by $25 weekly, pointing to inequality of income opportunity or progress.

The "differential" between the two groups in 1951 was $25 a week. In 1952, the gap widened to $31; and in 1953, to $40. In 1954, a year of recession, the incomes of **both** groups **declined** and the gap was reduced for the first time, to $39; and again in 1955 to $38.

According to these figures, while colored income has been rising, the differential with white income is much larger now than it was five years ago.

Finally, the ratio between the two groups, giving colored family income as a proportion of white family income, shows more inequality.

The university study noted that for every $1 a white family got in 1951, a colored family received only 73 cents. In 1952 the colored figure fell to 70 cents. And in 1953 it dropped to 66 cents; a penny less in 1954 and up to 68 cents in 1955. But even then, lower than in the first two years of the period surveyed.

In conclusion the study shows that the average white family in the Detroit area has an income one and one-half times larger than the average colored family, and the differential is higher than five years ago.

This points out that discrimination against colored wage and salary earners is still very much alive here.

The differential is the result of the existence of biased employment policies that bar colored people from most of the better-paying jobs and occupations.

Which means also that those who want economic equality still have a big fight on their hands — not only in Mississippi but in Michigan too.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Twin Cities	$ 1,320	$ 1,222.00	92%
Detroit	825	721.50	87
Chicago	1,560	1,317.00	83
Seattle	300	240.00	80
Cleveland	350	271.00	77
Boston	500	370.00	74
Buffalo	1,760	1,300.00	74
Allentown	85	60.00	71
Los Angeles	3,300	2,329.29	71
New York	4,000	2,546.40	64
Youngstown	250	150.00	60
San Francisco	650	365.00	56
St. Louis	85	45.00	53
Oakland	200	90.00	45
Newark	200	83.00	42
Milwaukee	250	102.00	41
Akron	140	50.00	36
Philadelphia	400	95.00	24
General	—	157.00	—
Totals	$16,175.00	$11,514.19	71%

A Big Push Needed For Socialist Fund

AUGUST 7 — With but eight days to complete the Socialist Campaign Fund quota, we are still far behind schedule. As of this writing we should have received 92% of the quota. Only 71% has been turned in.

The Twin Cities, consistent with past performance, are exactly on schedule, and we are confident their quota will be received in full and on time. Detroit, with 87% collected, is close enough to warrant the expectation that it will be on time. Five cities, Chicago, Buffalo, Boston, Cleveland and Allentown, are in a position where the final extra spurt that usually accompanies fund drives can put them over the top by Aug. 15.

For the other branches, the figures show only the most intense special effort will make possible completion of the quota by the deadline. We appeal to them to make precisely such an effort. We urge them to do so for the weightiest of reasons.

This fund was launched to enable us to take maximum advantage of new opportunities. The key to our success is literature and more literature. Lack of money has hampered our ability to effectively meet a quickly growing demand.

We are counting on our supporters to translate their understanding of this problem into immediate, effective action to complete their quotas.

Ala. Racists Use Court To Gang up on NAACP

By Harry Ring

AUG. 6 — Alabama and Florida racists are making increased use of their monopoly of political power to lash out at the Negro movement for equal rights. In Montgomery, Ala., a circuit court judge has fined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People $100,000 for refusing to surrender its Alabama membership list and other key records. In Tallahassee, Fla., scene of a ten-week-old boycott of the Jim Crow bus system, the mayor on Aug. 4 threatened the arrest of Negro car-pool drivers for not having "special taxi licenses."

The Alabama authorities have also demanded of the NAACP the records of its financial transactions with all groups and individuals in the state, all correspondence relating to the Autherine Lucy case as well as its correspondence with the complainants in the Montgomery anti-segregation bus suit.

The NAACP in refusing declared, "We cannot, in good conscience, risk exposing our loyal members to economic pressure, personal threats and acts of violence."

The Attorney General admitted in court that he wants to lay hands on the NAACP records, among other reasons, to "prove that the Montgomery Improvement Association is the same as a branch chapter of the NAACP." The MIA is the independent organization of Montgomery's Negro community in its 8-month fight to drive Jim Crow off the buses.

The naked use of the Alabama courts as an anti-Negro weapon was graphically pictured in the scene that took place immediately after the judge handed down his outrageous decision. The Aug. 4 Afro-American reports: "The Attorney General grabbed the judge's hand and, pumping it up and down, said, 'Nice work, your honor.' The judge, bald-headed and beaming . . . said, 'Thanks, and you did a good job, too.'"

In Tallahassee, the mayor's jail threat comes as part of a mounting drive to break the bus protest movement. More than a hundred Negroes have been hauled in by the cops for grilling about the car pool which is operated by the Inter-Civic Council. In addition to the new "taxi license" gimmick, the City Commission is working on an ordinance forbidding car transportation of persons "not related by blood or marriage." This is, of course, "for Negroes only."

The State Legislature has also been presented with anti-boycott and anti-car pool measures. The Legislature has allocated $50,000 for a committee to investigate "subversive" groups and individuals, making clear that by "subversive" they mean opponents of Jim Crow.

The bus company which halted operations July 1, resumed service Aug. 2. Although precedent was shattered with the use of two Negro bus drivers, the N. Y. Post reports that but a handful of Negroes rode the buses in the first two days of resumed service. At a meeting held prior to the resumption of service, an overflow audience roundly cheered ICC President, Rev. C. K. Steele as he answered the city officials' new attacks and threats with the declaration that "We are in it to the finish . . . we'll keep walking."

But the movement does not intend to wage its protest on foot alone. The ICC has made a nation-wide appeal for funds to build a station-wagon transportation system of the type operating in Montgomery. Contributions to support this project should be sent to the Inter-Civic Council, 803 Floral St., Tallahassee, Fla.

The stepped-up legal and judicial attacks in Alabama and Florida are a fresh danger not only for the civil rights movement, but equally for the trade unions. The NAACP has been illegalized in Louisiana and is now virtually illegal in Alabama. The anti-boycott measures are being strengthened and extended. It doesn't take a legal wizard to see that these precedents can be used against unions.

The need for the unions to give all-out aid to the Southern freedom fighters is now even more pressing. Such all-out aid means not only full moral and financial support, but, even more decisive, the political means to combat the political attack of the racists. And political aid does not mean hustling votes for the Democrats or Republicans.

The Dixiecrats maintain their political monopoly with the agreement and collusion of the national Republican and Democratic organizations. **A break must be made with the twin capitalist parties so that a national labor party can be built. Such a party can smash the political stranglehold of the anti-labor, Negro-hating Bourbons.**

Dope and Death Sentences

By Della Rossa

Throughout the world, there is growing opposition to the use of the death penalty with its vindictive and final nature. But the U.S. government has chosen to extend the use of this barbaric penalty to yet another field. And this time to a field in which crime could be eliminated entirely by means of cooperation between the government and the medical profession.

In July, President Eisenhower signed the Narcotics Control Act of 1956 which sets the death sentence as the maximum penalty for traffickers in narcotics.

Dr. Laurence Kolb, who has spent a lifetime studying and treating narcotic addiction and who, in 1935, opened the U.S. Health Service's Lexington Hospital for treatment of addicts, tells what's wrong with the new law in the July 28 Saturday Evening Post.

Narcotics addiction in itself, Dr. Kolb says, is "a minor health problem compared with such killers as alcoholism, heart disease and cancer." The real problem arises out of the false methods used in coping with it.

A major argument advanced for inflicting the death penalty on "dope" traffickers is the wide-spread picture of the "dope addict" who commits all kinds of crimes while "high."

But committing crimes is a result not of the influence of the drugs but of the black market prices charged for them. This view is supported by the Chief of Los Angeles Police, who, according to the L. A. Mirror-News, Nov. 16, 1955, stated that "an estimated 50 percent of all crimes in this area is caused by addicts who burglarize in order to pay the exorbitant price of their habits." Dr. Kolb calls these "law induced" crimes.

The New York Academy of Medicine in effect also rejects the notion that drugs induce crimes. For the Academy favors supplying addicts with the drugs they need while being prepared for treatment. And Dr. Kolb adds, let incurables also have the drugs they need.

With 60,000 known addicts in the U.S. the narcotics problem is certainly a serious one. But it will not be improved by the present hysterical, ignorant and vindictive act of Congress.

Narcotics addiction has steadily increased with the growth of fears and anxieties that characterize a decaying capitalist society. A humane and scientific approach — such as recommended by the medical profession — centers around a program of federally controlled distribution. It would knock out the black market in drugs and the terrible evils flowing from it.

But it will take a rational, socialist society of peace and security to wipe out the underlying reason for psychological compulsions driving people to escape into the dream world of narcotics.

McDonald Policy Limits Steelworker Gains

By Tom Kerry

The recently concluded steel wage controversy was one of the strangest affairs in the annals of American labor history. Giant industry and giant union went through the motions of squaring off for a gigantic battle. And at the very moment when it looked like the fight would begin in earnest—it ended, with all concerned claiming the greatest victory ever achieved. Steel union officials, government spokesmen, steel industry moguls and Wall Street tycoons, all congratulated themselves on a job well done. Just listen:

The steel union officials issued a statement upon the signing of the memorandum of agreement which declared: "The International Wage Policy Committee hails this settlement as the greatest victory ever achieved by the United Steelworkers of America in its twenty-year history."

On reporting the settlement, Business Week (July 28), asserted that with the "three-year, non-reopenable, no-strike contract . . . the industry won a great victory."

The lead story on the financial page of the Aug. 5, New York Herald-Tribune, recorded the jubilation of the stock-jobbers by reporting: "Wall Street was apparently quite happy over the steel strike settlement. Anyhow traders bid the stock market to new all-time highs last week, despite a touch of nerves over Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal."

IS EVERYBODY HAPPY?

Spokesmen for the administration in Washington were (if you'll excuse the expression) tickled pink. They proclaimed that contrary to the practice under the Democrats, Eisenhower and his millionaire cabinet had inaugurated an era of government non-intervention in industry-labor disputes.

The New York Times even found cause for rejoicing on the part of the "public" which it admits will foot the bill for the recently announced steel price increase. "Because the price increase in steel set off a wider circle of inflationary pressures than those in any other industry," says a Times, Aug. 8, editorial, "the public can be pleased that the United States Steel Corporation has raised its charges by $8.50 rather than by the expected $10 to $15 a ton."

Out of this whole welter of self-congratulation and reassurance there is one thing we can be certain of: The profit-bloated steel monopolists got everything they wanted. The steel price increase of $8.50 per ton follows the regular 3 to 1 pattern established by the industry. For every one dollar increase in wages the corporations extract three dollars in additional revenue. It is estimated that the total increase in wages in the first year of the new agreement amounts to $275-million. This is offset by an estimated increase in revenue of $850-million with no assurance that additional price increases will not follow each year of the 3-year non-reopenable, no-strike contract.

WHAT BOSSES WANTED

The steel barons called the tune from the very beginning of the dispute. They wanted a brief shutdown to reduce inventory and lay the basis for a price advance, and they got it.

They wanted a long-term contract to straitjacket the union while prices and profits soared and plants were expanded, modernized and automated at the expense of the public and the steelworkers, and they got it. "To be sure," says the magazine Business Week, July 28, "the industry would have preferred a five-year contract. But it knew pretty well, soon after negotiations started, that it was shooting for the moon. Moving just from one year to three is a giant step forward and represents a triumph in skillful collective bargaining."

That the corporation negotiators were "skillful" is self-evident—they got everything they wanted at a price of minimum concessions to the union. Which raises the question: How "skillful" were the union negotiators?

The union went into negotiations under relatively favorable conditions. Corporation profits were zooming to record levels. The administration, in an election year, was anxious to avoid a Taft-Hartley intervention which would solidify organized labor against the Republican party.

Despite some weak points in the economy the inflationary boom was at peak levels. The union membership was solid, disciplined and had displayed its militancy in the past whenever called upon to act. All the factors for a real union advance were favorable, except one—a leadership prepared to rally the ranks in a genuine struggle for substantial gains.

Instead of involving the union membership in active participation in the elaboration of the contract demands, of spelling out the main demands around which the membership could be united, of holding local and area-wide meetings in which the ranks could be kept informed of the progress of negotiations, steelworkers president David J. McDonald conducted negotiations in his usual style—in secret.

Even after it became obvious to all that the steel corporations were maneuvering for a shutdown, the membership was kept in the dark about the main issues. At no time did McDonald state definitely what the union was demanding as a basic wage increase. This plus the question of premium pay for Sundays and shift differentials were the main dollars and cents demands, at least so far as basic steel was concerned.

McDonald went into negotiations without seriously preparing for a struggle. His members had been indoctrinated with the idea that there was an identity of interest between the corporations and the union. He had written into the last union contract what the steelworkers call a "hearts and flowers" clause, which provides that management and union officials break bread together periodically and discuss their mutual problems. To inaugurate the "hearts and flowers" policy, McDonald toured the steel plants in company with steel baron Benjamin Fairless. He tried to teach the steelworkers to look upon the corporation vultures as their friends and benefactors.

Not that too many steelworkers took this nonsense seriously. And when McDonald himself came up against the adamant stand of the greedy corporation gang the "hearts and flowers" policy was the first casualty. He had sense enough to realize, after the corporations forced the union to strike, that you can't win a battle unless your ranks are in a fighting mood. So, an astonished membership suddenly witnessed McDonald cast in the role of Jack the Giant Killer. "We are men of steel," McDonald thundered in a special issue of Steel Labor, "and we'll fight them, by the eternal gods, until the contract we desire is wrung from them. Fight them, men of steel! Fight them and we will win! Fight them, by the gods, fight them!"

With the expiration of their contract the steelworkers had walked out to a man. Although bewildered and confused and not knowing precisely what the whole thing signified, there was no hesitation in responding to the union strike call. And with each passing day of the strike clarification and understanding would come to the workers and with it their demand for active participation in the determination of policy. That was the real danger—to both McDonald and the corporations.

The corporations understood their McDonald. They weren't fooled by his "fightin' words." But they also knew that behind McDonald were arrayed an army of real fighters and they hastened to head off a showdown with the "men of steel." On the eve of McDonald's departure for a tour of the strike-bound steel plants he was summoned back to New York. Business Week sums up the situation in the following words:

"McDonald was all set to make a cross-country series of visits to local union mass meetings and picket lines. No one expected him to spread any sweetness or light. He would do the orthodox job of a labor leader dealing with a striking rank and file: heat them up. The possibility of settling the strike on moderate terms and getting those terms accepted by the union's membership would be considerably slimmer once McDonald put on his war paint and took to the road."

McDonald came scurrying back to New York the moment the steel moguls crooked their little finger and signed on the dotted line. That the steelworkers gained concessions there is no doubt. That they got the minimum possible under the circumstances in exchange for the truly big concession of a long-term contract obtained by the corporations, they have "hearts and flowers" McDonald to thank for.

BULLETIN!

Lester Strike Ends

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 8 — The strike waged by Local 107 of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.) against a lockout by Westinghouse Corporation at its Lester, Pa. turbine plant ended on its 299th day by action of a mass meeting yesterday. The vote was 2,167 for ending the strike to 539 for continuing.

The company failed to crack the renowned militancy of the local, which had the support of the entire Delaware Valley labor movement. The company was forced to retreat from its major objectives of a drastic wage-cut, piece-work time limits for day workers, and a management's rights clause that would have allowed the company to change any agreed-to conditions. However, by terms of the agreement, 14 leaders of Local 107, fired by the company during the strike were suspended for two and a half months.

The Militant will print an analysis of the strike next week.

An Obstacle to UAW Left Wing

By Joseph Marino

DETROIT — Today in the auto industry, the speed-up has become accentuated. Unemployment has become ever more menacing as lay-offs mount. There are strong manifestations of discontent throughout all sections of the rank-and-file of the United Auto Workers with the policies of the Reuther officialdom.

The strongest center of rank-and-file discontent is Ford Local 600. As reported in the Militant two weeks ago, on a motion introduced by President Carl Stellato, Local 600 has launched a campaign to win adoption of the demand for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. Rank-and-file dissatisfaction has also found expression in the election of opposition slates in a number of key Detroit UAW locals.

These developments point to the need for the organization of a left-wing throughout the entire UAW to wage an effective struggle for the solution of auto workers' problems.

POLICY OF CP

One of the major obstacles to building a militant left wing in the UAW is the policy of elements in the UAW aligned with the Communist Party. The "peaceful coexistence" concept advanced by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is being translated by them into "peaceful coexistence" with the trade union bureaucracy, which in turn practices "peaceful coexistence" with the employers.

The clearest expression of the Stalinist position is to be found in a column by Nat Ganley, UAW expert of the CP, in the July 1 Michigan Worker. In an article headed "Factional Moves Started by Times," Ganley lumps together the auto workers' discontent over the Reuther bureaucracy's failure to fight on legitimate grievances and the attacks upon Reuther from the extreme right wing of American capitalist politics.

Ganley says that the "Detroit Times . . . ran an 'inside dope' story that a big factional fight has started within the UAW to unseat President Reuther in the 1957 UAW convention. 'Independent' local union leaders are supposed to be campaigning in the papers of this Hearst sheet under the slogan: 'If the UAW brass doesn't go along with us, we'll get new brass.'"

Ganley, instead of criticizing Stellato for failing to develop and extend the militant opposition elements which had gathered around him into a genuine, principled left wing, writes: "In the period since then [1951-52] the views of Reuther and Stellato on peace, short-term contracts, shorter hours without wage reductions have come closer together. Unsettled UAW problems like speed-up, ending skilled wage inequities, electing Negroes to UAW top office can only be settled in a fighting, principled UAW unity with the fire directed against the profiteering companies, the McCarthys and Eastlands. . . The same applies to winning the immediate demands of the UAW unemployed as well as the 30-hour week with 40-hours pay."

Ganley simply glosses over the fact that the Stellato opposition came into being precisely because the top UAW leadership had failed consistently over the years to develop a fight for any of the real needs of the auto workers.

OPPOSITION NEEDED

Reuther claimed, after his first term in office, that the reason the UAW was unable to move on any of the basic problems of the auto workers, was that he did not have a majority of the International Executive Board. He has now had absolute control of the IEB for at least eight years — and it is for that very reason that it has become necessary to organize an opposition. This has become the only way to force at least some recognition of the grievances of the ranks.

Today, when the gap between the UAW ranks and the top officialdom is wider than it has ever been in the past, when Reuther's alliance with the Democratic Party stands exposed as inimical to labor's interests by the record in Congress even of the liberals, it is above all necessary for a left wing to organize and speak out on the burning issues.

UNITY FOR WHAT?

The kind of unity Ganley calls for is unity on the program of those elements least ready to respond to the needs of the auto workers. Furthermore, abandoning principled opposition to Reuther will not really secure unity. Centrifugal forces are already in motion in the UAW because of Reuther's class-collaborationist program. This is illustrated by the mushroom growth of the phony Society of Skilled Trades — a warning signal that Reuther's course opens the door to company-sponsored splits.

What is needed above all in the UAW is the creation of an organization of militants that can unite the auto workers around a class-struggle program. Such a program would include erasing inequities, fighting for a shorter work week and building a labor party.

Next Week

Rita Shaw's Speech
To Ford Local 600

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